

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 /075 W  
----- 126390

R 160745Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 745

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

EUCOM

CINCUSAFE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 7088

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU

SUBJECT: DENKTASH-CLERIDES TALKS

1. I MET WITH MFA SECRETARY GENERAL ELEKDAG LATE AFTERNOON  
SEPTEMBER 15 AT LATTER'S REQUEST TO DISCUSS THE FAILURE OF THE  
RECENT DENKTASH-CLERIDES TALKS IN NEW YORK. ELEKDAG SAID  
HE WANTED ME TO KNOW THAT THE GOT WAS DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED  
BY WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN NEW YORK; THAT DESPITE THE CONGRESSIONAL  
EMBARGO AND THE TURKISH DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION THE GOVERN-  
MENT HAD "SUPPORTED " THE TALKS.

2. ELEKDAG REFERRED TO THREE POINTS ON WHICH HE ASSERTED  
AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED BETWEEN CLERIDES AND DENKTASH  
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AT VIENNA III, NAMELY, (A) A BIZONAL SOLUTION, (B) A WEAK CENTRAL  
GOVERNMENT, AND (C) EQUAL STANDING OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN

THE GOVERNMENT. I INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT I HAD HEARD WHAT HAD BEEN SAID AT VIENNA III ON A BIZONAL SOLUTION BUT I WAS VERY SURPRISED TO HEAR HIM REFER TO THE LATTER TWO SUBJECTS AS HAVING BEEN IN ANY WAY REALLY AGREED UPON. ELEKDAG DID NOT PRESS THIS OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT HE WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM THOUGHT THERE HAD BEEN AGREEMENT ON ALL THREE. IN ANY EVENT, ELEKDAG THEN WENT ON TO EXPRESS REGRET THAT THE POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE THAT HAD DEVELOPED AT VIENNA III HAD BEEN PURPOSELY DISSIPATED BY SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS FROM ATHENS AND NICOSIA WHICH SEEMED BOTH TO REPUDIATE A BIZONAL SOLUTION AND TO BE INCONSISTENT WITH GREEK ASSURANCES THAT THEY WERE SEEKING TO NEGOTIATE AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION. ELEKDAG SPOKE WITH PARTICULAR BITTERNESS OF CHRISTOFIDES' PUBLIC COMMENTS IN NICOSIA IN THIS CONTEXT AND THEN OF HIS "FIERCE" EFFORTS AGAINST THE TURKS IN LIMA. THE GREEK SIDE KNEW FULL WELL, SAID ELEKDAG, THAT THESE STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS WERE BOUND TO HAVE A MOST UNFORTUNATE EFFECT IN THE TURK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY. THIS HAD IN FACT BEEN THE RESULT, HE SAID, AND AS A CONSEQUENCE DENKTASH WAS SIMPLY UNABLE TO GET ANY AGREEMENT WITHIN HIS OWN COMMUNITY ON ANY ADJUSTMENTS IN A TERRITORIAL MAP. CLERIDES, SAID ELEKDAG, KNEW THAT DENKTASH, NOW STRUGGLING WITH THREE POLITICAL PARTIES ON THE TURK CYPRIOT POLITICAL SCENE, HAD BEEN UNABLE TO GET AGREEMENT ON A MAP AND PLAYED THIS VERY EFFECTIVELY IN NEW YORK. ELEKDAG SAID NOT ONLY WAS DENKTASH HAVING TROUBLE FROM HIS TWO RIVAL POLITICAL PARTIES, BUT ALSO THAT HE HAD SERIOUS DIFFICULTY WITH HIS OWN CABINET WHICH HAD INSTRUCTED HIM NOT RPT NOT TO OFFER A MAP IN NEW YORK, IN THE LIGHT OF THE INTERVENING PERFORMANCE OF CHRISTOFIDES AND OTHER GREEK SPOKESMEN;. INSTEAD, THE CABINET HAD INSISTED THAT DENKTASH'S MAIN BUSINESS AT THE NEW YORK MEETING WAS TO SEEK CLARIFICATION AS TO WHETHER THE GREEKS STILL ADHERED TO THE THREE POINTS ALLEGEDLY AGREED UPON AT VIENNA III.

3. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, ELEKDAG SAID THAT DENKTASH DID NOT RPT NOT WANT TO GO TO THE NEW YORK MEETINGS AND DID SO ONLY AT THE STRONG URGING OF THE GOT. AT THE MEETINGS, AND REMINISCENT, SAID ELEKDAG, OF THE GREEK PERFORMANCE IN JANUARY BEFORE THE FEBRUARY 5 CUT-OFF, CLERIDES STONEWALLED THE PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS, THEREBY "ABUSING" THE NEW YORK INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS BY  
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EXPLOITING THEM FOR US CONGRESSIONAL PURPOSES. HE DID THIS KNOWING THAT DENKTASH HAD BEEN UNABLE TO GET AGREEMENT ON A MAP AND THEN INSISTING THAT UNLESS A MAP WERE PRODUCED HE WOULD NOT STAY AT THE TABLE TO DISCUSS ANYTHING ELSE. ACCORDING TO ELEKDAG, DENKTASH WAS PREPARED TO TALK IN SOMEWHAT MORE GENERAL TERMS ABOUT TERRITORIES AND HE OFFERED TO DO SO IF THE

GREEKS WOULD AGREE AT THE SAME TIME TO DISCUSS THE POWERS OF A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. CLERIDES REFUSED TO DO THIS. IT WAS AT THIS POINT, SAID ELEKDAG, THAT IN AN EFFORT TO SAVE THE TALKS

CAGLAYANGIL INTERJECTED HIMSELF INTO THE SITUATION. THE RESULT WAS A CAGLAYANGIL -STIMULATED DENKTASH OFFER TO CLERIDES TO TALK ABOUT TERRITORY BASED ON THE GREEK MAP. WITH A VIEW TO THE FORTHCOMING CONGRESSIONAL VOTE, ELEKDAG ASSERTED, CLERIDES RESISTED THIS AS WELL.

4. IN RESPONSE, I EMPHASIZED THE USG'S GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT OVER THE FAILURE OF THE TALKS AND OUR CONCERN OVER THE NEGATIVE EFFECT THIS COULD HAVE ON THE FORTHCOMING VOTE. I SAID THAT A SERIOUS DIFFICULTY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE TURKS LAY IN THE GENERAL BELIEF THAT DENKTASH HAD FAILED TO LIVE UP TO A SPECIFIC

COMMITMENT MADE AT VIENNA III TO BRING A MAP AND BE PREPARED TO TALK SERIOUSLY ABOUT TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS--AND THAT THE TURK CAUSE HAD BEEN HURT BY THIS CONTINUING BELIEF. ELEKDAG CONCEDED THAT THIS CHARGE WAS ACCURATE BUT ARGUED THAT DENKTASH WOULD HAVE GONE THROUGH WITH HIS COMMITMENT IF THE GREEK PUBLIC STATEMENTS BEFORE AND ACTIONS AT LIMA HAD NOT SO ANGERED THE TURK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY THAT DENKTASH LOST ANY CHANCE TO COME UP WITH THE PROMISED MAP.

5. I THEN SAID THAT ANOTHER CHARGE THAT WAS MAKING THE ROUNDS, AND WAS DOING THE TURK SIDE MUCH HARM, WAS TO THE EFFECT THAT BECAUSE OF THE OCTOBER 12 ELECTIONS, THE PRESENT TURK GOVERNMENT WAS AGREEABLE TO DENKTASH STICKING HIS NECK OUT TO TALK TERRITORY, BUT THE GOT WAS NOT PREPARED TO RUN THE DOMESTIC RISKS OF BACKING HIM UP IN THIS EFFORT. I INDICATED THAT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS BEING SAID THAT DENKTASH HAD UNDERSTANDABLY DECLINED TO GO OUT ON A LIMB HIMSELF AND THAT THE END RESULT OF THESE TWO HESITANT POSITIONS WAS THAT THE TURK SIDE HAD  
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COME UP EMPTY IN NEW YORK. ELEKDAG DIGESTED THIS IN SILENCE FOR A MOMENT AND THEN REPLIED CANDIDLY, "IT'S TRUE, THAT'S WHAT HAPPENED". HE SAID THAT FOR POLITICAL REASONS THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT AT THIS TIME SUPPORT DISCUSSIONS OF TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS AND DENKTASH, WITHOUT GOT BACKING, WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO RUN RISKS ON THE INCREASINGLY COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT TURK CYPRIOT POLITICAL SCENE. ELEKDAG POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT DESPITE THE CURRENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT'S VULNERABILITY IN THE FACE OF THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS, CAGLAYANGIL DID IN THE END PERSONALLY INTERVENE TO TRY TO SAVE THE TALKS. THIS INTERVENTION HAD NOT SUCCEEDED, ELEKDAG AGAIN STRESSED, BECAUSE GREEK EYES --AS IN LATE LAST JANUARY--WERE ON CONGRESS RATHER THAN ON POSSIBILITIES FOR PROGRESS IN THE TALKS.

6. I NEXT MENTIONED DENKTASH'S RECENT THREATS WITH REGARD TO THE UDI (UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE) FOR THE TURK CYPRIOT STATE AND SPOKE IN STRONG TERMS OF THE UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS KIND OF TALK. IN RESPONSE, ELEKDAG SAID THAT IN

VIEW OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE TURKISH SECTOR ON CYPRUS,  
DENKTASH WAS BECOMING IN CERTAIN AREAS "UNMANAGEABLE". I  
SAID THAT WHILE THE USG HAD NEVER THOUGHT THAT INTERNAIONALIZING THE  
BYPRUS ISSUE AT THE UN OR ELSEWHERE WAS HELPFUL, I CERTAINLY  
HOPED THAT WAYS COULD BE FOUND TO END UNWISE TALK ABOUT UDI  
EITHER ON THE EVE OF A CONGRESSIONAL VOTE OR LATER.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COMMUNITY RELATIONS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PERSONAL OPINION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 16 SEP 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975ANKARA07088  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750321-0507  
**From:** ANKARA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750946/aaaabogb.tel  
**Line Count:** 176  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 08 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <08 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <29 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** DENKTASH-CLERIDES TALKS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, TU, CY, GR, (DENKTASH, RAUF), (CLERIDES, GLAFCOS), (ELEKDAG, SUKRO)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006